

The Controversial Letters,
OR THE
Grand Controversie,

Concerning

The pretended Temporal Authority
of POPES over the whole Earth, and the
true Sovereign of KINGS within their
own respective Kingdoms, in Four and
Twenty Letters,

Between two English Gentlemen,

The one of the Church of *England*:

The other of the Church of *Rome*.

The first two Letters.

[Peter Walsh]

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Brome and Benjamin Tooke, at
the Gun and Ship in St. Pauls Church-
Yard. MDCLXXIII.

The Controversial Errors
OR THE
Grand Controversie

Concerning

The several points of doctrine
of the Christian religion, and
the sovereignty of the church
and the respective kingdoms
of the world.

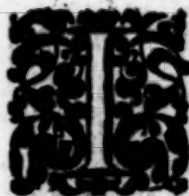
Between the English Government

The church and the people of England
and the order of the Church of England

By the Rev. Mr. Henry

Printed for Henry Brome and Benjamin J. in
the Gun and Ship in St. Pauls Church
Yale, MDCLXXIII.

SIR,



Fear the heat of our last Encounter may have done me some prejudice in your good opinion, and would justify to you, if I can, both my zeal and my friendship. Permitt me therefore with a more seded calmness to give you the reasons which sway'd with me then, but which the promptness of my nature possibly might so disguise, that they might not then appear reason to you. As this is my only, so I hope 'twill be my full justification; for though we ow much to friendship, we ow more to Truth, and that Friend who bars the use of reason in his Friend, does in my judgment ill deserve that name. Notwithstanding let me add what I think you are already sufficiently perswaded of, that I am far from the blind zeal of those who think Popery an imputation so scandalous and contagious, that it destroys all correspondence with those who own it. I have met with several, (besides your self, of your judgment in Religion, accomplisht men, and so qualified, that I cannot but wish either that all such men were Protestants, or all Protestants such men, I think so well of some parts of your Religion, that there are who think the worse of me. I read your books alwaies without hatred, and sometimes with pity at the unequal combat betwixt the Knight and the Giant, though I make no doubt you are even with us in this particular, and are all Knights in your own Countreys. When I hear People cry out Papists, and Popery, I have sometimes the bluntness to ask what they mean; for having heard them apply'd both to Prelacies and Fanatics, they must needs be words of a strangely large size, and magical comprehension, if they can fit parties so different, and what know I but they may be so explain'd,

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that you may own them no more than other folks? In fine, I look upon my reason as one of the greatest gifts I have receiv'd from God, and am perswaded 'tis a duty I owe him to use it as well as I can. Wherefore I as little approve the passionate zeal of our side, as I understand the sublime perfection of blind obedience on yours: but where I see you have reason, I am content to allow you have so. Yet after all, Friend, I must continue constant to what I maintain'd at our last meeting. I love my King and my Country as I ought, and can neither believe that can be a true Religion which teaches doctrines inconsistent with Government; nor believe otherwise but that yours does teach such doctrines. And though I know their pestilent influence does nevertheless work, for you have in the late times of trial approved your selves honest men, yet I cannot think that Commonwealth safe in which they are either tolerated or conniv'd at. Of this I will make your self Judge, and in this Paper produce my evidence, which shall be the very words of the most famous Authors amongst you, who if they be sufficient for number, and considerable for learning, and plain in expression, and own'd for yours, I see not what more can be expected from me, nor what at all can be reply'd by you or any else.

To begin then, there are I must confess some modest men amongst you, who speak sparingly of the Pope, and affirm *Princes are not the Popes Vicars*. These exempt from his Sovereignty the greatest part of the World, for they make *Infidel Princes true and supreme Princes of their own Kingdoms*, and say, *the Pope is not Lord of those possessions which Infidels hold*. Nay they go so far as to dare say, He is not *PER DIVINO*, Lord so much as of the whole Christian world. And that all his power to depose Princes, and dispose of their Kingdoms is only indirectly, and in ordine ad spiritualia, which alas! is a matter of nothing, and he must needs be a very scrupulous man who boggles at it. For this opinion are cited besides two Cardinals, *Bellarmino* and *Cajetan*, abundance of other famous men with hard names *Henricus* and *Joannes Driedo, Torrecremata, Pighius, Waldensis*

*Bellarmin. de
Rom. Pen. l. 5.
c. 2.*

Id. c. 3.

*deus, Petrus de Palat, Franc. Vitoria, Dominicus Soto, Sanderus, Aspilcueta, Covarruvias, and so many others that Bellarmine affirms it is communis sententia Catholicorum Theologorum, though in that particular, as you will presently see, he was a little out. But these, as many and as learned as they are, are but dove-bak't men, and sent strongly of vicked carnal policy, and heresie too, as an honest Gentleman fairly insinuates by the title of his Book, *adversus impios Politicos, & nostri temporis Hæreticos*, design'd principally against this opinion. And so Bellarmine scap't fairly; for *Sir-tus Quintus*, if the information I had from a very good hand deceive me not, had a great mind to have burnt his book: Though he scap'd more narrowly at *Paris* for giving too much to the Pope, than at *Rome* for giving too little. His fellow *Suarez* had his book burnt there by the common Hangman, and he was found guilty of the same fault: but he was a Cardinal; for which respect I suppose they dealt more mercifully, and only condemn'd and forbid him. But this by the by. Your hearty men, whom the largeness of carnal policy cannot fright from the defence of truth, tell us another story, and say plainly what we must trust to. *U- less*, says *Franciscus Bozius*, *there be one supreme Monarch in the Church in all things, the unity of the Church cannot be preserved: for seeing the Church by divine institution doth consist of a Kingdom and a Priesthood, if it were otherwise, there should be in the same absolutely one Monarch of the Kingdom, and another of the Priesthood: That if for avoiding dissensions about sacred causes, one supreme head is appointed; why not in the same manner of the Kingdom, that there should be one and the same Head both of the Kingdom and Priesthood, lest in like sort there should happen dissension betwixt them? that therefore it is the rather so be held that Peace doth supply Christ's place, not only in the Priesthood, but in the Kingdom, that he might be a King, and likewise a Priest according to the order of Melchisedech, who was both a King and Priest.* The famous Cardinal *Bernardus* says the same: *That David did foretel that the Priesthood of Christ should be according to the order of Melchisedech: That when Christ being a King**

Alex. Car-
vicius.

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Fr. Bozius in
Temp. Eccl.
Monarchia
prof. ad
Clem. 8.

Baron. Ann.
Tom. 1. An. 57.
p. 432 433.

and a Priest received all judgment of the Father, that is most full judicial power; He joyning the same with his Priesthood did institute in the Church a regal Priesthood, translating in suos (I conceive he means St. Peter and his Successors) all the power he had of his Father. This new coronation of King Peter so long after his death, and the mystery of King and Priest meeting in Melchisedech, vvhich St. Paul never dreamt of though he treat the subject particularly, and something to better purpose, and the admirable expedient to avoid dissensions by taking avay Regal power are pleasant matters, and deserve to be reflected on, but that I have so much of this divertive stuff to produce that I cannot stay every vvhere.

Tho. Bozins de
jure stat. pra-
fat. ad Aldo-
brand.

Isid. Moscon.
de Majest. mi-
litant. Eccles.
P. 96.

Thomas Bozins tells us, that if Christ be King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; in like sort the Church must be Queen and Lady: that all temporal Regal power doth reside first in the soul of Christ, and then in the Church his Spouse, the Queen of the World, and from her is deriv'd to others (Faithful or Infidels) as out of a fountain. Isidorus Mosconius says to the same purpose, That not only all faithful people, but likewise Infidels, and every natural creature is subject to the commandment of the Pope; he is to be worshipped of all men; and for this cause he receiveth of all the faithful, adorations, prostrations, and kissing of his feet. What pretty truths there are in the World which negligent men overslip by inadvertence? who would have thought the Mogul, and King of Pegu, and Chinese Tartar had deriv'd their little streams of power from the great Channel of the Church? Ungrateful men, who so little acknowledge their Benefactors? But since all natural creatures are subject to his commands, I wish some body that has credit would prevail with him that Lyons, and Bears, and Adders, and such naughty natural creatures might be forbidden to do us any harm for the future. For as simple as he seems to sit as Rome, and though he is pleased to make but little shew of any such power, he can stop the mouths of Lyons, and quench the violence of Fire. So that had we not been Hereticks, he might have done us a greater kindness here at London in the time of the late dismal Fire then we are aware of. I warrant you he could have ~~whisper'd~~
down

down the wind, and with one grave *Nod* have cool'd the courage of the Fire. But let us return to *Mascontius* reaching us farther, that the Pontifical and Regal power, and all other powers are most plentiful in the Pope, and reside in the Pontifical dignity. That all dominions whatsoever depend upon the Church, P. 616. and upon the Pope as Head of the Church. That in the Pope P. 670. Authority is consider'd, in Emperors and Kings power, and thence it is that power doth depend upon Authority. That the Pope P. 27. is call'd universal Judge, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. That Emperors and Kings may be compell'd to keep their oaths P. 677. taken in their Coronation and Confirmation, in that by virtue of such oath they are made the Popes Subjects. That all temporal Jurisdiction must be exercised, not at the Popes command, but at his Beck. Princes will charge, command; God who is Lord of all doth by his beck command, according to that, *Dixerat & nutu totum tremefecit Olympum*. That Christ had full P. 85. Jurisdiction over all the world and all creatures, and therefore the Pope his Vicar hath so. In truth these Authors of yours are considerative men, and as careful as they are able. They reflect that Popes are generally old men, and have often weak lungs; and twas charitable to exempt them from the painful trouble of commanding, and make a nod serve the turn. *Carrerus* in his zeal against impious Politicians and Heretics, teaches us, That true, just, ordain'd by God, and mere dominion *Alex Carrer.* on as well in spiritual things as in temporal was brought forth *de Potest. Rom.* by Christ, and the same was committed to S. Peter and his Pont. p. 9. Successors: That Christ was Lord over all Inferiours, not only as God, but likewise as man, having even then dominion in the earth, and that therefore as the dominion of the world was in Christ both divine and humane, so it must be confessed that it was in the Pope his Vicar. That the mystery of Redemption being accomplish'd, Christ as a King gave unto Peter the administration of his Kingdom, and S. Peter did execute that his power against Ananias and Saphira. That Christ as he is man P. 124. is directly Lord over all the world in Temporalities, and that therefore the Pope is so likewise, in that he is Vicar: That P. 126. the supreme power of judging all, and the top of dignities, and the height of both powers are found in Christs Vicar: That as the

P. 150.

the divine and humane dominion were in Christ, so in Christ's stead the dominion of the world in the Pope is both spiritual and temporal, divine and human. That the unremovable Truth doth design, by Peters only coming by water to Christ,

P. 151.

that the whole dominion, which is signified by the Sea, is committed to S. Peter and his Successors. ('Tis quaint that and surprizing; but yet this water methinks is something an unsteady foundation) That as the Pope cannot say he is not Christ's Vicar, so he cannot deny but that he is Lord over all things, because the earth is the Lords and the fulness thereof, whereby all things, heavenly, earthly, and infernal are subject unto Christ the Lord; and thence it is that he did commit unto the Pope, who doth supply his place upon earth, the rights of the heavenly and terrene Empire. That he should forget the infernal Empire, the famous Purgatory power! which for all it be under ground, time has been when no glebe above ground has been more fruitful. Elsewhere he teaches that

P. 143.

there are divers Powers of men given by God, and divers Authorities, all which do depend upon the highest Authority (meaning I suppose the Popes) and thence as the stars from the sun receive their light. That the Imperial power concerning the administration of temporal matters doth proceed from the Pontifical power, as the light of the Moon from the light of the Sun:

P. 145.

That the Empire of Rome before it was converted to Christ, was a dominion usurpt and tyrannical, because the true dominion was in the line of Christ: That the Emperor is the Popes Minister; for God did appoint him tanquam summi Sacerdotis Ministrum. That no King or Emperor hath jurisdiction or dominion but from Christ, and by consequence can have none at all but from his Vicar. I understand now the reason St. Peter commands Christians to be obedient to the Authority of Heathen Princes and Governours; because he knew very well how they came by it: For though all their power before was usurp'd and tyrannical, yet after they had deriv'd it from him it became a lawful Authority. If our wicked Politicians be not confounded with this I know not what will do it; I am sure I am to meet with such Quib in a Church which boasts of purity of her doctrine, and

P. 161.

which

which cherishes the Authors not only as good Christians^{ap} but learned men and Masters of Christianity. *Lallu Zee* Lat. *Zeeb. chinu* tells us, that the Pope by the Law of God hath power and ^{*Tract. Theol. P. 81.*} temporal dominion over the whole world: That the same is prov'd by the words, Luk. 22. Behold here are two swords, which signifie the power spiritual and temporal: and because Christ, whose Vicar the Pope is, hath both powers according to the words Matt. ult. All power is given me in heaven and in earth; that thence it may be deduced that the Pope is absolutely Lord of all the Christian world; and Kings and Christian Princes are to acknowledge that they hold of him their Empires and Kingdoms, and all that are faithful ought to be subject unto him: and that as oft as such Princes do any great hurt in the Church, the Pope may deprive them of their Kingdoms, and transfer their right to others. *Franciscus Bozius, Fran. Boz. de* That the supreme temporal Jurisdiction throughout all the temp. Eccle. world doth belong to S. Peters Successors: so as one and the Monarch. l. 1. same is the Hierarch and Monarch in all things. That Christ ^{*C. 3. p. 52.*} left the Church to be govern'd by the best form of government, ^{*C. 7. p. 98.*} but the best form of government is absolute Monarchy, even in all temporal things, therefore Christ left his Church so to be govern'd. That the Keys of Heaven were given to Peter *L. 2. c. 14.* therefore of all the earth. That the right of dominion and *L. 3. c. 1.* prelation of Infidels may justly by the sentence and ordination *p. 894.* of the Church be taken away; because Infidels by reason of their infidelity deserve to lose their power over the faithful. That *C. 14. p. 530.* the Church hath receiv'd that power over Nations, which Christ according to his human nature receiv'd of his Father: but Christ receiv'd absolutely of his Father all power in temporalibus, therefore the Church likewise receiv'd it by participation of his fulness. That the supreme coactive power in ^{*all C. 16. p. 537.*} temporal things belongeth to Ecclesiastical persons by divine Law, revealed and expressed in the Scriptures. That Kings ^{*P. 676.*} annointed with holy Oil are called as Vassals of the Church. That by reason of the supreme Monarchy in all things, ^{*tem. L. 5. p. 823.*} poral laws may be made, and Kingdoms taken away for just causes. *Henricus Gandavensis*, if *Carrerius* cite him truly, *Car. p. 119.* That by the Law of God and nature the Priesthood doth over-

D. 100.

Carr. p. 130.

Carr. p. 130.

P. 131.

Aug. de Arc.
de Peste. Ecc.

Q 39. a. 2.

Q 45. a. 2.

Q 46. a. 3.

I. Conr. in
templ. am. ju-
dic. l. 2 c. 1.
S 4.

the Empire, and both Jurisdictions over Spiritualsies and Temporalities, and the immediate execution likewise of them both, depend upon the Priesthood both by the Law of God and Nature. Antoninus, That they who say the Pope hath dominion over all the world in Spirituals, but not in Temporals, are like the Counsellors of the King of Syria, who said, the Gods of the Mountains are their Gods, and therefore they have overcome us: let us fight with them in the Plains and Valleys where their Gods dwell not, and we shall prevail against them, 3 Reg. 20. Augustinus Triumphus, That the Son of God hath declar'd the altitude of the Ecclesiastical power, being as it were founded upon a Rock, to be above all principality and power; that unto it all knees should bend, of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, or in hell. 'Tis come at last this infernal power, 'twas only long of a bad memory we had it not before: That Secular Powers were not necessary, but that Princes might perform that through terror of discipline, which the Priest cannot effect by power of doctrine: and that therefore if the Church could punish evil men, Imperial and Secular principality were not necessary, the same being included potentially in the principality Apostolical. And why cannot the Church punish evil men, if both jurisdictions, and the immediate execution of both be in her? But we understand him well enough; when time serves the conclusion shall be, that Princes are unnecessary, because the Church by her double power can do the business of the world without them; And so farewell useless Princes. Farther he tells us that Imperial or Regal power is borrowed from the Papal or Sacerdotal, for as much as concerneth the formality of dignity, and receiving the authority. Pretty formalities those. That the Pope hath jurisdiction over all things, as well temporal as spiritual through the world. That He may absolve Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance: That upon just cause he may set up a King in every Kingdom; for He is the Overseer of all Kingdoms in Gods stead, as God is the Supervisor and maker of all Kingdoms. Lancelot Conradus. That He may appoint Guardians and Assistants to Kings and Emperors when they are insufficient, and unfit

unfit for government. That He may depose them, and transfer their Empires and Dominions from one time to another.

Celsus Mancinus, That in the highest Bishop both the powers and jurisdictions are spiritual and temporal; and that as he is the most eminent person of all men in spiritual power, so he is in temporal. *Th. Boq. de jur. stat. l. 1. c. 1.*

Thomas Bozius, That Kings and principal Seculars are not immediately of God, but by the interposition of Holy Church, and her chief Bishops. That warlike and military compulstive power is given to the Church over Kings and Princes. *Th. Boq. de jur. stat. l. 1. c. 6. p. 37. P. 52.*

That if it be found sometimes that certain Emperors have given some temporalities to the highest Bishops, as Constantine gave to Sylvester, this is not to be understood that they gave any thing which was their own, but restor'd that which was unjustly and tyrannically taken from the said Bishops. *Ap. Carrer. P. 131.*

Rodoricus Sancius, That there is one Principality and one supreme Prince over all the world who is Christ's Vicar, according to that of Dan. c. 8. He hath given him power, and honour, and rule, and all people and tongues shall serve him: and that in him therefore is the fountain and spring of all principality, and from him all other powers do flow. That the Bishop of Rome in place of Christ is set as a Prince over the whole world in spirituals and temporals, and that it is naturally, morally, and by the Law of God to be held with a right faith, that the Principality of the Bishop of Rome is the true and only immediate Principality of the whole world, not only as touching things spiritual, but likewise temporal, and the Imperial Principality is depending upon it, as being mediate ministerial and instrumental, ministering and serving it; and that it is ordained and instituted by it, and at the commandment of the Papal Principality is moveable, revocable, corrigible, and punishable. I marry! Here's a man speaks to purpose. Hang this squeamish faintheartedness, which serves for nothing but to cover an ugly face with a vizard as ugly. We know well enough what the mincing indirect *in ordine ad spiritualia* power would be at, and 'tis a great deal better to speak plainly, for Orthodox truths, such as concern the Law of God and right faith, should be spoken so that people may understand them and know their duty; As for Kings they are likely to boggle as much at the mask as the face. If they be turn'd out of their Kingdoms and reduc'd to beggary, the beggary will be direct beggary, *P. 131. & 132.*

*Atvar. Pelagi-
us de planctu
Eccl. l. 1. c. 37.*

*Tract.
Monarch.*

Moscon p. 22.

Mench l. 3. c. 1.

Carrer. p. 132.

Moscon. p. 92.

Lang. Conrad.

l. 2. c. 1. §. 4.

August. Tri-

ump. q. 18. a. 2.

art. 5.

beggery what ever the power is which brought them to it, and this fine distinction but uncomfortable alms. One would think this fellow were not to be match't: and what think you of him who says in downright terms, *That the Pope hath the propriety of the Western Empire, and the rest of the world in protection and tuition.* He bids fair this man, but of all commend me to *Jacobus de Terrano*, who explicating that scurvey text, *Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars*, tells us, *It was spoken but for a time, not for ever; that it was to hold only till the Ascension of Christ; and afterwards that should come to pass which was spoken, when I shall be lifted up from the earth I will draw all things after me; that is, I will recover all the Empires and Kingdoms of the world, and will take them from Caesar, from Kings and Princes to give them to the Pope.* I have not met with any who bids fairer for the purple than this man; And so I leave him and the rest of your learned Authors; for though more men might be alledged, and more from these men, yet in truth I am weary, and must pass over sundry passages of profound learning, and useful knowledge, as that *Papa* is deriv'd from the Interjection *Pape!* because his dignity and power is admirable to all men, and is as it were the amazement of the world, according to the *Gloss* in the *Proeme* of the *Clementines*, *Papa*, stupor mundi non Deus, non homo, sed utrumque. That he is as God best defin'd by negation, so that if one ask whether the highest Bishop be a Duke, a King, an Emperor, to answer warily we should by denying affirm the Pope to be quid præstantius, quidvè eminentius. So that we may hope one day to see a mystical Theology made for the Pope, and the inaccessible mystery of his power declar'd by negations. That unto the Pope as Pastor of the Church, and Bishop of that holy Sea, and by reason of his dominion and excellence is given *Adoratio Dulcis*, such worship as belongs to Saints and Reliques. Besides, I have seen cited, That he is holden to be Christ's Vicar not only in respect of things in earth, in heaven, and in hell, but even over Angels both good and bad. That he is greater than Angels as touching dominion, not in respect of himself merely, but by Authority from God; and may be superior to any Angels concerning recompence of reward, and may excommunicate them. That he is equal to God,

and

and can make something of nothing, and wrong to be right, and such pretty matters, which if the ears of you Catholics were not as much hardned as the hearts of us Heretics, would sound a little odly. But to our purpose. The method of discourse requires now that I should apply these sayings to the matter in hand, but the application is so easie and obvious, that to spend time in it must needs be equally tedious and needless. For pray tell me, can any Commonwealch be safe, or subsist at all, if Princes have no dominion but what they receive from the Pope? If they hold their Empires and Kingdoms of him? if they may absolve their subjects from allegiance, and transfer their rights from one line to another? If they be his Ministers, his Vassals, his Subjects? If their power be only ministerial and subservient to the Papal, to be exercis'd at his beck, and be at his command both corrigible and revocable? If any thing be plain in the world, this is, that either Princes must be taken out of the world, or these Maxims. For without more ado he that makes a Prince be a Subject, makes him no Prince, speaking as I do of absolute Princes. Wherefore leaving these things, and their application to your consideration, I turn my self to reflect on what I conceive you may reply.

Two things there are which I have heard alledged in your behalf with some appearance, but not much substance. First, that notwithstanding all this, Catholic Princes do live safely, and govern quietly, and therefore to conclude these doctrines are inconsistent with government, is to conclude that cannot be done, which we plainly see is done. Next, that while men are men there will be *quot capita tot sententia*; that nature is not furnish'd with means to confine the fancies of private men to the limits of strict reason; that these are problematical Questions which particular men dispute into probabilities, but for which the Church is not responsible, having never either defined, or otherwise engaged her authority for them. To the first I reply that a certain King took poison so long that it became food to him, and yet I think poison for all that a very dangerous thing, and very inconsistent with health. The Princes you mention have Antidotes undoubtedly with which I am not acquainted; but let the Antidote

be never so good, poison will be poison still. And truly I think Sir *Thomas Moor* did honestly, when finding some passages in the book which *Henry the 8th.* writ against *Luther*, of which by the Kings command he had the perusal, and in which he thought the Pope was complemented a little too far, he represented to the King that one day possibly they might fall out, as afterwards they did, and that then He might wish somethings unsaid. While those Princes and the Pope continue friends, they need not much apprehend, and possibly are not much acquainted with what passes amongst Scholars, for they are sure enough that for his own sake He will not use his power against those who maintain his interest. It may be too with Princes as with other men, who, to compass some end upon which they are passionately set at present, value not a mischief, much more considerable than the loss of their present pretences, which is farther off. If the Pope can assist either French or Spaniard, the Divines of that King whose part he takes may say any thing freely; and Statesmen who have little esteem of Schoolmen, will think the Pope sufficiently over-reacht, when for a few pleasing words they have gotten peradventure a Town or Province. So that your Princes seem to be alwayes playing with the Pope at *Vy. Politics*; in which game they think their steel to his quils advantage enough; though I should think the advantage is cleerly on the Popes side: for as he cannot make stakes, he hazards nothing; but if Trump ever turn of his suit he bids fair for all. *Defende me gladio, & ego te defendam calamo*; peradventure was no such unequal offer. Besides, they may possibly have the art to turn his credit to their advantage, and make use of it to keep their Subjects more obedient and more in aw. It may be they have some of them no better original Title to all, or part of their dominions than his Authority, and then a blind man may see what reason they have to uphold it. It may be these, it may be other reasons sway with them; but whatever they are or may be, I think 'tis plainly hatching a serpent in their bosoms. For let us suppose the Pope and a Catholic Prince at odds, a thing so far from impossible, that 'tis not unusual. 'Tis in his power, you'll say, to continue Catholic whether the Pope will or no, and then

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He's safe, for he gives the Pope no hold, it being only Heresie upon which he can fasten. But is this true, that nothing will do it but plain Heresie? Has not Zorobabel taught us that the Pope may deprive Princes of their Kingdoms as oft as they do any great hurt in the Church? And will not the bad example of contradicting stubbornly with the supreme Pastor be interpreted a great hurt in the Church? Has not *Franciscus Boxius* informed us, that by reason of the supreme Monarchy in all things, temporal Laws may be made by the Church, and Kingdoms taken away for just causes? If we ask what these just causes are, *Santarellus* answers, That Princes may be punished and deposed for Heresie, Ant. Sant. in. but for other causes: for their faults, if it be expedient; if Her. schif. A. Princes be negligent, if their persons be insufficient, if unuse- ful. How few Princes are there who fall not under some of these qualifications, or at least may not be judged to do so, when the Pope, and He their Enemy is to be Judge? As certainly, it were a crime greater than the greatest of these, to seek the decimation of these things from any else. This negligence, though, stumbles me a little, for it seems a general, and something a captious word; and I think it would be to the satisfaction of those who are concern'd, if it were defined as soon as might be, how many hours a day a King is to give audience, that he may not pass for negligence. But the man for my money is *Thomas Boxius*, who tells us plainly, That the Church the Spouse of Christ, and Queen of the world, may as often as the order of the whole doth require, &c. transfer the proper rights of one to another; as a secular Prince may set down private mens houses for the beautifying the City, or impose tribute for the good public; That he may thus justly do, although he hath not word from whom such rights are transferred to another, so the Pope gave the Indians to the Spaniards. 'Tis an honest fellow this *Boxius*, and cares not for mincing matters. Give me the man that speaks out. But what think you, is Heresie the only unkinging crime, when you see any great harm; negligence, insufficiency, unusefulness will do it? When innocence itself is no security, and the best King of the world may be turn'd out of his Kingdom, and that justly, if ano-

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De Jure Stat.
l. 1. c. 6. p. 6.

they be thought able to govern more handsomely? What handsome work will these Maxims one day make in the world, if they be suffered to take deep root? For my part I cannot see but Catholic Princes, as secure as you make them, are no less concern'd then Protestants to beware of them, and weed them up quickly and effectually. But is it so easie to scape the crime even of Heresie? I doubt not, and am likely mistaken if, this word Heresie have not as comprehensive a sense, and be not of a nature as pleyable as Popery amongst us, and if managed with equal dexterity may not prove equally serviceable. The late King was the honour of Protestant Religion, and certainly had never a Subject more unmovably fix'd in it than himself: And yet mislice made him pass for a Popist, at least inclin'd to Popery, do what he could, and by that imputation principally undid both him and the Kingdom. Henry the third of France was possibly as hearty a Catholic; yet all his industriously affected bigotteries, his great beads, and Priests weeds could never clear him from the stain of Heresie maliciously fix'd upon him, till he fell with a face different from that of our glorious King in this; that his Kingdom suffer'd more and longer, his own end was more private, being execrably murdered by a private Paricide, whereas the barbarous injustice done to our King was heighn'd by the formalities of public justice. So that as far as I see Heresie is as dangerous as Popery with us, and as hard to be avoided. But let us consider a little, *Sancius* has told us that it is to be held with a right Faith, that the principality of the Bishop of Rome is the true and only immediate Principality of the whole world, &c. If this be right, the contrary sure is wrong Faith, and wrong Faith I think is Heresie. *Thomas Becket*, who never falls, will tell us that Christ committed to St. Peter (the Carrier of the keys of eternal life) the right both of the terrene and celestial Empire, as Pope Nicholas saith; from whom we have it that he is without doubt an Heretic who taketh away the rights of the terrene and celestial Empire, committed by Christ to the Church of Rome; and saith it is lawful so to do; and for that he shall be an Heretic in such his offering. And *Cavertinus* that the Bishop of Rome is the highest Ruler and Head of the world, and

and the universal Vicar, that Lord of the world, and about
 others depend upon him as shop-bailiffs and other persons (2)
 if one should place the Emperour by himself in respect of his su-
 periorities he should grant two privileges which were Hereticall.
 In good faith Sir, I cannot think otherwise; but if the same
 say true, your Catholic Princes, let them keep as fast as they
 will with the Pope, are all Heretics in their hearts. And
 then what follows? Hark what a Cardinal, and, which I
 grieve, an Englishman hath published to the world: The
 Canon Laws, says he, being authenticall in the lawfull Tribu-
 nals of the Christian world, denounce all Heretics (not only after
 they are namely and particularly denounced, but by the Law it
 self ipso facto as soon as they be Heretics, or de jure excom-
 municated (for the first) to be deprived of their dominions.
 Another tells us, The whole School of Divines and Canonists
 do hold, and that its certain and of Faith, that any Christian
 Prince whatsoever, if he shall manifestly desert from the Ca-
 tholic Religion, and endeavour to draw others from the same,
 does presently fall from all power and dignity by the authority
 of human and divine law, and this also before any sentence of his
 supreme Pastor or Judge denounced against him; and that his
 Subjects whatsoever are free from all Obligation of that Oath
 which they had taken for their Allegiance to him as their law-
 ful Prince: and that they may, and ought (if they have force)
 drive out such a man as an Apostate, an Heretic, and a
 Backslider from the Lord and Christ and an Enemy to the Com-
 monwealth, from all dominion over Christians lest he infect o-
 thers, or by his example or command avert others from the
 faith, and that this certain definite, and undoubted opinion of the
 best learned men is wholly agreeable and consonant to the Aposto-
 lical doctrine. Upon these grounds it was publicly main-
 tain'd that Henry the Third of France was lawfully mur-
 dered before any sentence of excommunication was against
 him, because, though in hidden crimes formalities be re-
 quir'd, yet evidens notitia facti sententia lacrimat, & non de justis abdic-
 percipit formam publicus dolor. And that he had long liv'd
 an excommunicate person de facto, though the law had not
 past sentence upon him, for favouring Heretics; for Simony;
 for entering into league with Heretics (the Queen of Eng-
 land.

Card. Allen
 against the
 execution of
 justice p. 87.

Philopater.
 p. 154.

Hen. 3. l. 4. c. 2.

Land and King of Navarre) for seizing the goods of the Church without the Popes privy, and other offences against the *Bulls* &c. Upon these grounds I have seen that execrable Villain *Chapel*, who attempted upon *Henry* the Fourth what *Ravillac* after performed, defended by a public Apology, and I see no attempt can be so barbarous and inhumane which may not be defended by them. So that, by your favour, your Catholic Princes are not so secure; Quieter they may be, but never safe, and for their quietness they may thank the lucky conjuncture of those stars which have influence upon the times of their government, and restrain the malignity of these doctrines. Otherwise if they be not very cunning in school subtleties, They may chance forfeit their Kingdoms, and all their power, *Ariscum de lege* without ever knowing when or how, live all their life time in the erroneous belief that they are very Kings, and those who obey them their very Subjects, and be deceiv'd all the while. But be it as it will, this answer which would justify the innocence of these doctrines by the security of Catholic Princes comes pitifully off; when instead of securing, it takes them quite away, which is a fine kind of security; for it is plainly a much easier task to maintain by these doctrines that there is never a true Prince in the Christian world, no nor in those whom you call Catholics, than it is to maintain the doctrines. And yet when all is done, 'tis nothing to purpose neither. For our Prince and People are of the number of those whom your Church takes for Heretics, and can expect no other treatment from you, than what you maintain belongs to Heresie. Wherefore however your Catholic Princes satisfy themselves, I neither see how he can be satisfied of the fidelity of such of his Subjects, as approve of these opinions, nor with what face they can pretend security and protection from him. Pray think of this, while I pass to what I put for a second answer, and what I have sometimes heard alledged.

These opinions, will you say, are moor-cases probably disputed amongst private men, in which the Church is neither engaged nor concerned. Pray God this Church be not as slippery a word as either *Heresie* or *Papery*. These men
who

who thus magnifie the Pope certainly are not of our Church, and I believe Presbyterians and Fanatics of all sorts will disown them too; so that even for pity, and not to make Infidels of them, you must needs take them into yours. But they who speak so kindly of the Pope need not fear disowning. We see they are both acknowledged and esteemed, and are all *Capita alta ferentes*. Now 'tis strange your Church should be unconcern'd in men whom you account Orthodox and learned, and whose books come out with the approbation of those whom your Church commissionates for that purpose. Me-thinks the Act of her Officers, acting by her Authority, should be taken for the Act of the Church. Unless you will have the Pope pass for one of those careless Princes, who deserves to be deposed for negligence, and be ignorant that his Officers abuse their trust, and licence unsound doctrines, and this at *Rome* it self, where a body would think sufficient care is taken that nothing pass which is not esteemed Orthodox. Bring me a book printed at *Rome*, wherein the contrary doctrine is maintain'd, and I will acknowledge there is some sense in this answer. In the mean time let me give you a few instances, and those at home, by which it may appear the Pope is so far from ignorant and unconcern'd in these positions, that he approves and countenances them, and that both hotly and constantly.

In the reign of King *James*, upon the occasion of the execrable Powder Treason, the Oath of Allegiance was enacted by the pious wisdom of the Parliament. to secure his Majesty and Successors from the like attempts for the future. The Superior of the Catholic Clergy, at that time was one *Blackwell*. He, after much and long debate of the matter with his fellow Priests, at last resolved the Oath according to the plain and common sense of the words might with a safe conscience be taken by the Catholics; and afterwards both took it himself, and by his admonitions to Clergy and Laity recommended it to them as a thing both lawful and fitting. The greatest part of the Clergy, vvhó repair'd to *London* upon that occasion, followed the resolution of their

Superior, and had the Pope been either a little more ignorant, or a little more negligent, I think it had been better for you. But He was more vigilant than stood with your profit. Cardinal *Bellarminus* was then alive, and he writes a letter to *Blackwell*, perswading him to make amends for his fault; which he compares to the falls of *St. Peter* and *Marcellinus*, whereof one deny'd Christ, the other committed Idolatry. The Pope himself sends a Breve to the English Catholics, and forbids the Oath; and when they remained yet unsatisfied, and made some exceptions of wrong information, and the like, usual in such cases, justifies the first Breve by a second, and so utterly dashes the Oath, that ever since the generality of Catholics have refused it, and these few who continued constant in defence of the lawfulness of it, were look't upon little better than Apostates. The great maintainer of it *Wibbington*, a learned and honest man, was so briskly prosecuted, that he was fain to take sanctuary in a Prison, and glad he escap'd so. If after this these things must still pass for probabilities, probabilities are things in which I have been much mistaken; for I thought a man had been at liberty to take which side he pleas'd; but I see a man may as safely maintain Heresie, as that side of these probabilities which displeases the Pope. Neither can I see how the blame can be taken from Him, and cast upon private men. For private men would have gone right enough, if He would have let them alone, and had not overstay'd them by his authority, and an authority so absolute and meerly such, that neither He alledges, nor I could ever see any reason to conclude that Oath unlawful even in your own grounds.

In the year 47, when upon the interposing of the Army, under the command of the then *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, it was hoped the difference betwixt King and Parliament, and disorders of the Kingdom might have been composed, and Catholics comprehended in the general settlement, in case They could vindicate their principles from inconsistency with civil government. Three Propositions were framed by the Catholics to that purpose, importing that the Pope or Church

Church had no power to absolve from obedience to civil Government, or dispense with word or oath made to Heretics, or authorise any to injure other men upon pretence of their being excommunicated, &c. The Priests were consulted about the lawfulness of these Propositions. They met some of most Orders among them, and all agreed they were lawful. The Laity rested in their judgment, and the most considerable of those who were at hand subscrib'd them. This was not very public, and at a pretty distance; and if it were known a body would think there was no great harm in it, unless it be made prejudicial to Christianity for men to live with their neighbours as honest men and good subjects should do. But they thought otherwise at *Rome*. The vigilant old Gentleman there, who must be pretended ignorant of what passes in *Italy* and at *Rome*, got an inkling, condemned, whether the proceedings or propositions I know not (for he was so wise as to keep his censure to himself, and never let it see light) and punish such of the Actors as were willing to be punished. I know of one, a principal one too, who was sent beyond sea, and there did penance in a house of his own Order for the grievous fault of having been honestier than the Pope would have had him, and I presume made good resolutions of amendment, and becoming a new man and a pious knave for the future: And I suppose the rest did the same, unless chance, or peradventure stubbornness excus'd them. Unhappy Catholics! amongst whom 'tis punishable even to be honest. How truly has a learned man observ'd, that you have the choice of being thought either bad Subjects at home, or bad Christians at *Rome*? But you must feed on the fruit of your own ways. In the mean time pray lay the blame of these things no more upon private men, when the Pope so manifestly and industriously takes it upon himself, and He may reserve you know what he pleases.

But take yet another instance, and that even at this time upon the Stage. Upon the restoration of his Sacred Majesty, the Catholic Irish Clergy hoping to obtain the effect of some agreements made in the time of the troubles which

the then Lord of *Ormond* the Kings Lieutenant there, commissioned a certain person now living, and sent him over into *England* to solicit those pretensions in their behalf. And finding a Profession of Allegiance necessary to their business, they framed one which they sent to their Procurator to be made use of in their names, and is now in every bodies hands, and generally known by the name of the *Irish* Remonstrance. This Profession not appearing sufficiently authentic, the Procurator causes a meeting of such of the *Irish* Clergy as were then at *London*, and informs them of the necessity of a general subscription to it. One Bishop, and three and twenty other very considerable men subscrib'd it, some seven or eight held back, professing yet the thing both Catholic as to the doctrine, and lawful as to the action, but asking what they should get by it? But the game being once a foot it was presently and hotly follow'd by the Popes Ministers, Cardinal *Francis Barbarin* at *Rome*, the Nuncio at *Paris*, and Intermunice at *Bruxels* interpose with all concern imaginable. They speak, they write against it, pretend it condemn'd before hand by two Popes (meaning the Brief of *Paulus V.* about the Oath of Allegiance, and the censure of the three Propositions by *Innocent X.* which never saw light) and prevail with the Divines of *Louvain* to censure it. They countenance, they encourage, they promote the Discenters, and brand the Subscribers with the odious names of Seditious, and Schismatic, and Heretic, and Apostate; One, and he a venerable man, was told to his face, He had better have died than subscribed. But the greatest bustle was about the Procurator himself. Him they set upon with all Arts they tempt him with fair offers, and the promise of very considerable preferments: That failing, they persecute him all they can; they make his Superiors (for he is a Religious man) cite and excommunicate him, all diffame him, and at last have brought things to that pass, that few believe him a Catholic, and those few keep their charitable thoughts to themselves for fear of being infected with the dangerous Contagion. So that as far as I can perceive, if the Subscribers were the honestest men,

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the Discenters were the wiser. If these opinions must still pass for probable, about which Divines may busie themselves without interressing the Church, you have a strange and unintelligible way of government amongst you. Methinks probabilities should have equal dealing, and Divines left to scuffle about them as well as they can without partiality to either side. So I think 'tis with your other Probabilities in the hot disputes betwixt the Jesuits and Dominicans, Scotists and Thomists and the rest. Let them beat the Pulpits as hard as they will, the Pope looks quietly on, lets them cool and take breath, and too't again, and this is fair play. But to depress one side, and cherish the other, and this vigorously and constantly, 'is something odd for probabilities. In the name of wonder are Schism and Heresie probable amongst you, into which one side of your probabilities alwayes runs? Or is it an approv'd custom amongst you to excommunicate for probabilities? In fine, say what you will, I cannot think otherwise but that these probabilities of yours are as improbable as any thing in the world. Then for your other pretence, that the Church all this while interposes not: either all words universally have conspir'd together to abuse us, and make us understand nothing even of the plainest, or there is no sence in it. One would think that Church in Spirituals, 'is as state in Temporals. Now if two Princes fall out, and the King of *France* for example, assist the one with counsel, and forces, and the endeavours of his Ministers, we say usually, and I think pertinently, that the State of *France* is engaged on that side, and he who should deny it, would be thought deficient either in his language or his wits. For can a more pleasant Paradox be invented, then that an Army marching by commission of the King of *France*, owning his orders, and He their actions, were all the while but a company of particular men in whose doings the King and State are unconcern'd? Now for King say Pope, and for State say Church, and where is the difference? Norwithstanding, as I am not much acquainted with quirks, and fear the subtle *Distinguo*, and the *trilemm de schola* as much

in the *trilemm de lege*, I will not undertake but that amongst so many school Physicians as you have, some Logical plaister may be found out, which you may apply to this sore: But this I see that whatever effect a distinction may have in the *Schools*, it will do no manner of good in the *world*. For if the men of your Church persecute other men, they will be no less persecuted whether your Church do this as a Church, or under some other formality. The world is a material thing, and formalities alter not its settled course. Discredit, and want, and pain are material things, and when they fall upon a man, he will be ill at ease in spite of all the relief formalities can afford him: And if material Subjects rebel against a material King, and drive him out of his material Kingdom, I think it matters not much what formalities there were in the case. I suppose he will be little the better by learning his Subjects did not act as Subjects, nor treat him as a King, and his new acquaintance with those subtle empty forms I fear will yield him but small comfort. If your formalities can preserve or restore Kingdoms, if they can make honest men of Traitors, if they can restore the credit of private men, and relieve their wants, and ease their distresses, I shall acknowledge they are worth hearkning after: But if they can do none of these things, the Schools that invented them, had even best keep them to themselves, and much good may they do them; The world has neither need nor use of them, for real mischiefs are not cur'd by verbal distinctions. We complain that the material Governor of your Church arrogates to himself a power dangerous to Princes, and that the material men of your Church maintain him in it, and both together hotly prosecute All who are not as hot as themselves. Tell not me the Church indeed does this, but not as a Church; for as a Church, or not as a Church, she does it; and if the mischief be done, what matter is it how? *Wistrington* ended his uncomfortable days in prison; *Walsb* is in a fair way to the same preferment: Thousands of people were ruin'd, thousands destroy'd in *Italy* and *Germany* upon the contests betwixt the

the Pope and Emperor, in *France* upon the Holy League and what happened in those places may happen every where. 'Tis a remedy for these mischiefs which I look after, and security that they shall not one day happen here, nor the formality by which they were done : For in fine a formal plaister to a material wound, is but good words to him who is hungry. We had our formalities too, and our distinctions in the late war, and heard enough of the politic capacity, and the personal capacity ; but they neither abated any thing of the public misery, nor the deserv'd punishment inflicted on the witty Authors. Our *Pagan* *Juries* found them guilty for all their accurateness, and their sophistry had no effect with the illiterate Hangman and undistinguishing Halber. We had the formalities of Justice to boot, but they serv'd for nothing but to render a fact execrable in it self more barbarous and more inhumane. You may have more and other formalities, but after all they will be but formalities, and not a jot more useful than ours. You shall permit me to conclude with a *Dilemma*, which I would recommend to your serious thoughts. Either your Church is engag'd in these Positions, or she is not; if she be, she is unexcusable for holding them; if not, you are unexcusable for not renouncing them, when without injury to her authority or your own consciences you may.

I would gladly receive an answer to this Paper, or rather a return, for I do not think any answer can be made. However I entreat you by all our friendship to let me know what you can say. Having found you both rational and ingenious in other points, you must needs satisfy the curiosity I have to know whether you will disclaim your Church or your reason : for certainly you must make bold with one, and the best I suppose will be but a bad choice. As you are all brought up in a wonderful reverence to your Church, I know it will be hard for you to acknowledge any thing amiss in Her ; and yet on the other side I think it will go against the hair of your temper to part with your reason, and, that you may be thought a good Son of
your

your Church, be content to be thought no good man, as certainly he is not, whose actions are not warranted by his reason. Pray think not the worse of my friendship, that I put you to so hard a choice. Reason is the measure of friendship, as of other virtues, and we cannot sin against friendship by acting according to reason. Besides, Friend, you live in a Communion disapprov'd by Law, and un-maintainable by Reason; and I think 'tis the part of a friend to tell you so. Wherefore once again pray think not the worse of me, and be assured, that whatever you think I truly am

Your Faithful Friend and Servant.

(17)

SIR,

I Received your long Letter, with the obligation you lay upon me to answer it, and heartily wish you had made use of the power you have over me in some other occasion. This subject is a kind of Candle to Flies, with which if they happen to play, they have great luck if they do not burn their wings. You are at your ease, and may freely talk at pleasure, secur'd by the Laws, and at defiance with the Pope. The case is otherwise with us, who believing of the Pope as we do, and subject to the Laws as we are, can neither be without respect for him, nor apprehension of them; and though we could speak even clearness itself, 'tis all to nothing but we fall foul on one of the Rocks. Notwithstanding, since I owe much to your friendship, I would gladly preserve, if I can, your good opinion both to my self, and Religion, of which you speak so charitably, and nothing like an enemy, and besides, would not be guilty of her shame by confessing she has nothing to answer, nor of my own by continuing in an unjustifiable communion; I obey you with this request, that you will take care to preserve me from the hazard I run by serving you, and let this Paper be seen by none but such as mean as well as you and I. First then I am so far from thinking our friendship shock'd by your free proceeding, that I take my self and Religion both oblig'd to your candor, and with from my heart I may as well justify her, as you have your friendship. And for my Church, there are so few who look upon her with equal eyes, that this pity of yours, as just and charitable as it is, is yet more rare, and I cannot see it without as much acknowledgment as satisfaction. And yet, as strongly as you discourse every where, I think you have reason no where more than in this particular. For so it is: if we say nothing, and, when we are often and loudly provok'd to speak, still hold our tongues, we have a bad cause, and such, for which nothing can be said; if we speak, we are insolent, and cannot keep our selves quiet when we are well. And after all, 'tis the Combat betwixt the Knight and the Giant still, as you have rightly observed. But the world is the World, where Reason,

as much our nature as it is, cannot hinder, but Chance and Interest, and Passion, and several humours to which men are subject will have their share in the conduct of things. Wherefore without complaining farther of what complaints are not likely to remedy, I think it best to address my self to my defence.

And the first point of it shall be to declare I mean not to defend any of those opinions which you have alledged with so much sharpness, for in truth I think them not defensible, and that there is not more sharpness than justice in what you say. Not but that to one, who would take the pains to peruse the Authors you have cited, some of those Sayings possibly might not appear so ugly as they do in your Paper. For there is a great difference betwixt words taken as they lie in the whole Context, and singled out from their fellows, who might peradventure to some of them afford some tolerable explication. But besides that I conceive that labour not necessary for my purpose, I have no kindness at all for the Doctrines, and not enough for the Authors to prevail with me to undertake it. I have heard from those who meddle with Controversie, that their greatest difficulty often is to preserve the credit of private men, whom, because they are of the same Communion, they are so unwilling to affront, that they have much ado to preserve the Church from the contagion of their Errors. As my nature is a little more blunt, I have no such difference for them, and think it but just, that *Qui pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ non vult audit.* Let them shift for themselves on Gods name, or let those defend them who approve their Maxims. For my part I hate them heartily, and think it but a preposterous Charity to be so tender for the credit of those who betray the credit of the Church. Allowing then for reason all you say against those opinions, of which I think as ill as you can do, I yet conceive your reason fails in the inference you draw from them. That true Religion cannot teach Doctrines inconsistent with Government; That a Commonwealth is not safe in which such Doctrines are either tolerated or conniv'd at; (that is, when they come to be instilled and get credit with the People, otherwise while they remain in the Schools, I should think the danger not very great, for Kingdoms are not overturn'd by Syllogisms;) Farther if you please, That the Doctrines you have produced, are such Doctrines, I freely
grant

grant you: But that our Church does teach such Doctrines I deny, and notwithstanding all you have said, if you still preserve your unbiass'd candor, hope to make the contrary very evident.

And first, because with you I think my authority may signify something, for you know I will not tell you a lye, you shall permit me to say something of my own knowledge. I was born you know of Catholic Parents, bred up in Catholic Religion, and have lived some part of my time in Catholic Countries. I have been at their Schools, heard their Catechists, their Sermons, their Discourses; and by the care of my Friends, and some pains of my own, think few of my condition more fully instructed in that Religion. I assure you faithfully I was never taught any such Doctrine, nor ever heard the Church taught it. On the contrary, I have been bred up in this belief, that obedience to my King is not only truly a duty, but, a duty truly required by Religion, and this persuasion was so well fix'd in my heart, that I yet remember how great and surprising a horror the late Rebellion caus'd in me, when I was too young to judge otherwise of it, or any thing else, but as I found it contrary to the sentiments which had been instilled into me. I have heard indeed of the opinions you cite, but as of extravagancies of bold men, and when I came to the age of judging of things my self, found that though they were held by men living in Communion with the Church, they had yet no warrant from the Church to hold them, nor any better ground than their own mistaking reasonings, and so continued to detest them by judgment as I did before by Education. Now this answer, which it seems you foresaw, you have endeavour'd to prevent, making use your self of an Artifice of Rhetoric, to bar me the assistance of Logic; for you would persuade me that to distinguish the material Church from the formal, or the man from the Churchman, is an idle airy nicety, which is of no use in the World. But truly one of us is much mistaken, for I think on the contrary, that nothing is more obvious, nothing more familiar, let me add, nor more necessary, and that even to your material world as you call it, which without such distinctions would quickly run into confusion. The World is made up of men, and men of several qualities. The same person is both a man, and a Rich and Proud man, a Powerful and an

Angry man. and we see Wit and Ambition, Goodness and Ignorance, Learning and Fantasticalness often coupl'd together, and a hundred several mixtures of several qualities united all in one material Man. Now consider what fine work there would quickly be, if every one of these useless formalities, as you call them, must be chargeable with all actions; if Riches must be taken away because the Rich Proud man has *scorn'd*, and Power because the Powerful Angry man has *wronged* his Neighbour: if Wit must bear the blame of Ambition; and Goodness the miscarriages of Ignorance; and Learning the Errors of Fantasticalness. Reason is our very Nature, and yet I think there are few to whom Nature has not given Logic enough to see that we do not always act *as* reasonable, and who are not learned enough to separate the Animal from the Man. To speak yet plainer, a severe Father, a harsh Master, do they not sometimes use their Children and Scholars unreasonably, and so as utterly to spoil them? A corrupt Judge, does he not pervert Justice, and render those Tribunals, from whence men expect the relief of Injuries, the seats of Oppression? What then? Must the Father, and the Master, and the Judge be condemned for the faults of the Man, and none of these powers left in the world because they have been, and daily are abused? I think you and every body will confess that this were unreasonable, and yet your Argument spares none of them. For 'tis all one to Children and Pleaders, if they be materially oppress'd and mis-us'd, whether this be done by the fault of the Office or the Officer; and small comfort it is to tell them that their Judges and Masters acted in their case as passionate men, not as Judges and Masters, for they remain oppress'd still, and the formality relieves them not. Kings themselves are men too, and not exempt from the failings of Mortality. Our Country indeed has this, amongst other things, to thank God for, that she has been extraordinarily blest with good Kings: but History affords examples of such elsewhere, as have been unjust, and cruel, and tyrannical; And if you will not allow the King, and his sacred Function to be free from the aspersions to which the Man is sometimes liable; let me tell you, Friend, your Doctrine will be more dangerous and more inconsistent with Government than the Papal pretensions. Now as in all these cases, and a
hundred

hundred more which happen every day, and every where, Nature teaches us to examine the formality from whence the mischief proceeds, and endeavour to provide against that and let the rest alone, so I think it ought to be in the case of the Church. We condemn not Learning because some learned men are fantastical, nor Riches for the pride of rich men, why must the Church be condemned for the fault of Church-men? Authority, and Goodness, and Wit are not blamish'd by the errors of those who have them; the Power of Fathers, and Masters, and Judges is, and must be preserved in the world, however Severity and Covetise daily abuse it: and if this be so in all the rest of the world, can you think it reasonable the Church alone should be exempted from the general rule, and be more answerable for the faults of those who live in her communion, than Authority for the faults of bad men in Authority? The faults indeed should be taken away, but the Church let alone. And truly had your Reformation as you call it, gone no farther than to retrench abuses, such as these you mention (and who knows but there may be other?) I might peradventure have call'd it so too: But instead of abuses to take away Office and all, and desie the supreme Pastor of the Church, and alter the whole face of Religion, there by your favour you reformed a little too far. For the same Logic which makes the Church responsible for the errors of Church-men, makes the Office responsible for the faults of the Officer, and that is to take all Offices out of the world, where men will be men, and liable to be reduced from the path of vertue in spite of all preventions possible in such a nature as ours. I hope by this time that distinction does not appear so airy, and useles as you imagined: you shall permit me to add, that possibly you are no less concern'd in it than We. For we are not the only men, amongst whom Principles inconsistent with Government may be found. Remember who they were that ruin'd *England* by the late War, and were guilty of things, which to dilate were as unfavoury as needles. They were so far from Popery these men, that fear of Popery was a chief Engine employed in the mischief. Sad fate, by the way, and preposterous wisdom! to destroy our selves for fear of being destroyed, and run into Fire and the Sword for fear of Ink and Paper. Neither is *England* the only example: *Scotland*, and the *Netherlands*, and *Germany*,

Germany, and *France* have felt lamentable effects from the Doctrines of men who would take it for an imputation to have learnt any thing of the Pope. So that it is very plain, that the Papal is neither the only, nor the only dangerous King-deposing power in the world. 'Tis as plain that these men are neither Infidels, nor of our Church, so that you must even exercise your Pity too, and take them into yours. Or if pity will not prevail; I hope at least you will take care so to defend your Allegiance, as not to overthrow your Church; And unless you make your Creed consist but of Eleven Articles, I see not how you can disown the Communion of these men; for 'twill be a strange Catholic Church which communicates neither with the Church of *Rome*, nor her Adversaries. Wherefore if your Argument be good, and Religion must answer for the faults of those who profess it, there is no remedy, but Princes to be secure must banish all Religion, and People turn Atheists to be honest men and good Subjects. Now whatever answer you would give to one who should charge such wicked principles upon your Church, because they are maintained by numerous, and learned, and famous men amongst you, the same I give for mine. I believe for all your Pique to formalities, you would go near to distinguish your Church, or *Believing* men from the *Erring* men, and say you communicate with the Men, but not with the Errors: So you shall permit me to say for mine, and this farther, that whatever you say, you must of necessity either condemn your selves, or absolve us.

'Tis not that the force of your Argument drives me to that way of answer which I have chosen; it being easie to shew the Churches innocence even in your own way, and without the help of your disliked formalities. Your Argument in short is this: Learned men in the Church hold wicked Doctrines, therefore the Church holds them. If that Argument be good, this likewise of necessity must be good: Learned men in the Church hold those Doctrines false and wicked, therefore the Church does so too, for the same authority cannot but have the same force either way, and the Deniers have as much power to remove the imputation from the Church, as the affirmers to fix it upon her. You have cited, if not all, yet, the most considerable of those who maintain them, and they make some ten or twelve.

Justice. It is pretty well that the judgment of ten or twelve men
 must needs be taken for the judgment of the Church: But let
 that pass; by the same rule, the judgment of ten or twelve of
 the contrary, must conclude the judgment of the Church for the
 contrary. Wherefore if I produce as many and as famous men
 for the Negative, as you have done for the Affirmative, 'tis
 without more ado a drawn match, and nothing being proved
 either way, the Church is absolved by the Law of nature, by
 which every one is innocent who is not proved nocent. But what
 will become of your Argument if for one of your side I produce
 two, if ten, peradventure twenty on the contrary? Either you
 must confess the Argument has no force, or the Churches inno-
 cence officiously proved by it, unless peradventure you can find
 some subtle formalities by which you will maintain your single
 man is stronger than my ten or twenty. Now all this is not only
 possible, but already done to my hand by *Corn* the learned de-
 fender of the Irish Remonstrance, who in his *Loyalty asserted*,
 what betwixt Canonists and Divines, Schoolmen and Fathers,
 Popes, Councils, Universities, Kingdoms, &c. has made a Ca-
 talogue of more than two hundred and fifty Defenders of the
 contrary Doctrine. You see then I had no necessity of flying to
 Formalities to answer your Argument: For by your own Rule
 and Method the Church is proved not to hold the Doctrines
 you mention, and not only so, but plainly to hold the contra-
 ry; nothing being more unreasonable in the world than to
 give it with the ten against the two hundred; or to think that ten
 is a sufficient number to engage the Church one way, and two
 hundred not sufficient to engage her the other. But looking a
 little nearer into it, me thinks it is of kin to *Bacalla's* Age, par-
 garded four fingers thick with appearances. Strip off the gay
 Jacket of pretty smartness in which you have dressed it, and there
 will remain as little substance, and less soundness. Learned men,
 say you, say such things, therefore the Church says them. What
 if you be as much mistaken in your Antecedent as Inference,
 and that they prove not learned who say them? Words, you
 know, are slippery things, and you have well exemplified in di-
 vers. I fear this term, Learned men, and Learning, is no less
 slippery, nor less abused than those which are most so. But not to
 be too severe, a Divine is a Learned Man, can he therefore pre-
 scribe

scribe Physic? The Metaphysician; the Natural; the Moral Philosopher, the Mathematician; the Physician, the Lawyer, are all esteemed learned men, but their learning is confin'd every one to his proper Profession; out of that, their authority is of no moment, and they may with all their learning be very ignorant in matters which belong not to them. Now consider a little. The men whom you have cited are, excepting one or two, all Canonists, and esteemed able men in that Profession; but every one knows their Profession consists in declaring what the meaning of the Law is, and what the intention of the Law-maker, and if they go beyond this, they exceed the bounds of their profession. Our Question now, whether the Pope have, or have not such a power, to what skill does it belong? To the Law? Plainly nothing less. What the Pope has commanded, and what he meant by the words in which he has express'd his commands, is as far as the Lawyer can go; but what power he has to command, and how far that reaches, is quite out of his Sphere. If I mistake not, for 'tis a study in which I have no skill, the power of the Law-maker is a Principle supposed, not proved in the Law; or if a Lawyer go about to prove it; keeping within the limits of his own Art, he argues *a posteriori* thus, He has commanded such and such things, therefore he has power to command them. And this is a proper, and good Law proof, where the first Maxim is, that the Law is just, and the power of the Law-maker still supposed. If the Lawyer venture upon other proof, he intrenches upon another skill, in which possibly he may be very ignorant. And he that will not be satisfied with this, nor admit his other Maxim, *Lex non facit injuriam*, but excepts against Law and Power, and all, has no remedy but to seek satisfaction elsewhere. In fine, what the Pope claims from Christ, belongs to the Divine; what from Reason and the force of Nature to the Philosopher: only what he claims from the agreement of men belongs to the Lawyer, and in this he ought to be heard, in other things he is *Sutor ultra crepidam*. Your discourse therefore, which appears so trim and gay in the dress you have given it, has no more strength than the authority of a few men in a matter wherein they have no authority, and if they had, is overpowered by a greater, and this methinks you need not have thought so unanswerable.

Were

Were you now an Adversary with whom I should think fit to use the right established by the Laws of disputation, I should say no more; for an Answerer has fully discharged his part, who has shewn his Opponents Argument unconvincing. But since we are Friends, and write, not to convince, but inform one another, I shall return again to my old way, which I take to be the way of Nature; and endeavour to shew you more minutely how unreasonable it is the Church should be charged with those Errors. Church signifies a Congregation of Faithful, and Faithful Men who have Faith. And since Men cannot be without Reason, nor Reason without working in them, 'tis unavoidable that besides the persuasions lodg'd in them by Faith, men will have others which proceed from their Reason: to say nothing of Passion, and the Animal Nature, which has its efficacy upon the Faithful as well as all the rest of mankind. Now as in the rest of the actions of men, Nature forces us to look into the Principle from whence they proceed, and attribute every one to his proper cause, which if we did not, all would presently run into confusion: So we must here, and consider in the actions of the Faithful, whether they act as Faithful, or as Men. And those Actions which proceed, not from Faith, but Reason or Passion, are no more to be charg'd upon the Church, than the Covetise, or Cruelty, or whatever faults of men in office upon their Officers. And in all this there is so little subtilty, that every body does the like almost in every occasion. There remains only to examine upon what Principle those who assert these errors proceed, whether upon Faith, or some other: Faith is a reliance upon some Authority, and in our case, the Authority of Christ, who alone is acknowledged the Author and Reveler of all which we are to believe. Wherefore of any point in question, it must either be pretended that it was revealed by Christ, or it cannot be pretended that it belongs to Faith; and if any maintain it upon other grounds, so far heads, not as a believer, but as otherwise qualified. Now there are in the world two principal ways, by which claim is made to the Authority of Christ for that which we maintain is Faith, and that wherein we do not engage his Authority, neither of us say is Faith, or that they act as faithful, who upon reason, or experiment, for example, maintain any thing. The World hopes from the

learned industry of the Royal Society the sight of many truths yet hidden from her: but all their endeavours can never make Faith of them, nor concern your Church in them, as considerable members of it as some of them are. For they go not your Church-way of Faith; They look, not into Scripture, but Experiments, and act as Learned, not as Church-men. What they shall discover to the World will be revealed not by Christ, but by them; and if any believe them, they will have no Christian, but Society-Faith. Such is the case of our Church. Tradition is her known method, by which she pretends to the Authority of Christ. If any will run upon their own heads, and discourse and maintain things, and never look into her Rule; She can be no more concerned in their proceedings than the Church of *England* in those of *Gresham College*. For since Faith is that by which she is a Church, and Tradition that by which she comes to Faith, people must engage Faith if they will engage the Church, and Tradition if they will engage her Faith. Wherefore whoever goes about to prove any thing otherwise than by Tradition, uses not the method to come to Faith, I mean, the method approved by our Church, and his conclusion, whether true or false, neither reaches Faith, nor aims at it, and by consequence cannot belong to the Church or Congregation of Faithful. Now reflect a little upon your Authors, and see if they go this way to work, And the first thing is the consent of the present Age; for Tradition signifying the consent of all Ages, 'tis a madness to pretend it for that which is not believed so much as by the present. Do they, or can they even offer at this, while they see themselves contradicted, by men as learned, and far more numerous? While all the Universities of a great Kingdom disapprove and condemn their Doctrine, and their Books are burnt in the face of the world by publick Justice, and the men who do this acknowledged good Catholics all the while? Do they, or can they pretend the consent of former Ages, while they know all Antiquity agrees, that for many Ages Popes were so Supreme in Spirituals, that in Temporals they were Subjects? Such they acknowledged themselves, and as such the Emperours treated them. When, and how, and upon what occasion they came to be temporal Princes is known to all who are knowing in History: A condition, by the way, which he
who

who envies them, little understands, or little loves the good of the Church, with which 'twas much worse when Popes were hindred from doing their duty by the unjust violence and oppression of powerful men amongst whom they lived. Do they alledge the undoubted Testimony of the Fathers of the Church assembled in a general Council? Nothing of this appears in what you have produced. The men themselves are most of yesterday, All, many Ages since Christ, and there needs no second Argument to prove of any thing that it is not Faith, if it can be proved that it began in any Age since the first, as these opinions plainly did. But consider their Arguments. They are either groundd upon some odd interpretation of Scripture, as the order of *Melchisedech*, the two Swords, *St. Peters* walking on the water, and the like; or else upon some deduction and reasoning as weak as the water which they mention. And this method, though *per impossibile*, it could prove the thing true, yet could never prove it to be Faith. There are many things in the world which are so acknowledged to be true, that they are withall acknowledged not to be Faith. Was it taught, by Christ? Was it believed by Christians, *Semper, & ubique, & ab omnibus*? Till this appear, it neither is, nor can be Catholic Faith: But that which I insist upon is, that this method is plainly resolved into Reason, and can no more engage the Church of *Rome*, than the experimental learning of the Royal Society the Church of *England*. The Authors you produce rely not upon the Authority of Christ, testified by an uninterrupted conveyance down to us, but upon the strength of their own discourses, which if they be weak and fail, the Church never undertook that all in her Communion should discourse strongly; Neither can she her self do more than testify of the truths delivered to her, that they are such, and were so delivered. This testimony is all which can be expected from her as a Church, (speaking of what concerns us to speak of; her power to make Ecclesiastical Laws, and the like, are no part of our case.) if she fail in this, and either testify that to be delivered which was not so, or suppress any thing which was delivered, blame Her; but for this, that some Members in her Communion have weak Reasons, or strong Passions, if you blame her, consider the confusion you will bring into the world, which I

I have so much dilated before, that to repeat it would be tedious here.

But will you have a taste of the Churches sense of these things? Consider the Hymn made in the first Ages of the Church, inserted since by public Authority into her solemn Office, received by all the Faithful, and used on the Feast of the Epiphany. *Non eripit mortalia qui Regna dat celestia.* Can the Church, which prays thus, be thought to favour the deposing power? Or can her sense appear more plainly, than in the consent of an universal practice? But let us look upon her in a Council. *Wickleff* amongst other errors had advanced this Proposition: *Populares, &c. The People may at their pleasure correct their offending Lords.* And this amongst the rest was condemned by the Council of *Constance*. To the same Council was offered another Article worded in this manner: *Quilibet Tyrannus, &c. Every Tyrant may and ought lawfully and meritoriously be killed by any of his Vassals or Subjects, even by secret plots and subtle insinuations or flatteries, notwithstanding any Oath or League made with him, not expecting the Sentence or command of any Judge whatsoever.* This they condemned too, and hear if you please in what terms: *The Holy Synod, desirous to rise up against this Error, and to take it wholly away, declares and defines this Doctrine to be erroneous in Faith and Manners, and rejects and condemns it as Heretical, Scandalous, and giving way to Frauds, Deceits, Lies, Treasons, and Perjuries; Moreover it declares, and decrees that those who pertinaciously assert this most pernicious Doctrine are Heretics, and as such to be punished according to the Canonical Decrees.* Beheld the most exorbitant of your Doctrines directly and authentically condemned: And though I am not ignorant that some of them may find in the expressions, as they lie in the Council, wherewith to evade her Censure, yet I conceive her sense so clear, that those evasions can appear no better than evasions. For 'tis a plain case, She takes Duty to Princes to be a direct point of Faith, since she condemns the contrary of Heresie; and since she allows not even Tyrants to be kill'd, I conceive she declares plainly enough against the deposing power, whose chief ground is, that deposed Princes are no longer Princes but Tyrants; for without doubt of all sorts of Tyrants, those are the least such, and have

Con. Const.
Sess. 8.

Sess. 15.

most

most title to the protection of the Council. (I beseech you mistake me not, as if I thought my self, such Princes indeed were Tyrants, but I speak in the Language of those who think so; and I maintain they are condemned by the Council even though their impossible ground were supposed true.) And if her expressions are not so direct and formal as to avoid all cavill; The reason is obvious: Councils do not make Propositions to be condemned, but condemn such condemnable ones as they find made to their hands. She condemned that Doctrine in the terms in which it was proposed to her, and by her carriage shews what it is to expect from the Church in whatever terms it be proposed. People may talk at random in the Schools, where 'tis preposterously thought a piece of learning to be able in the morning to defend one thing, and in the afternoon the quite contrary: But let these men and their learning appear in a Council, and they will go near to be askt, since they know that to give obedience *Propositis etiam disculis*, and that not only for fear, but for conscience, was taught by the first Masters of Christianity, and evidently believed, and practised ever since, and *ab omnibus*, and *ubique*, and *semper*, by what warrant they bring in an exception to a Rule established by Christ, and tell us 'tis to be understood, if the Pope command not the contrary? They will be urged to produce their authority for this exception of theirs, to name the Fathers, that taught it, and Children that believed it; to make out its Universality both in Time and Place; and if they can do none of all this, as plainly they cannot, 'tis well if they scape the censure of Heresie themselves, who are so forward to fix it upon others. Subtilties, and the knack of talking, and the opinion of learning will avail them little where the constant Rule is *Tradition*, and *not delivered*, and *not to be believed* is all one. But I go too far, it being neither my business nor intention to dispute the Question. Thus much, when I was once in, I could not chuse but say, and I cannot but add, that if the contrary to your Doctrine be not sufficiently defined already, it may be when Princes please, and in such terms as they please, when ever they think fit to use their interest for the calling of another General Council. In the mean time I conceive there is never a King in Christendom, who has not credit enough with the Clergy of his own Dominions to cause them to condemn those

those opinions. All the Universities of *France* have done it already, and I presume no Catholic Church-men, if they were required by their Prince would refuse to follow their example. Mean time what belongs to me is, that those opinions are not Doctrines of the Church, since they do not so much as pretend to the only Rule by which she judges of Doctrines, and their only grounds are private deductions of private men, with which if the Church should be charged, and Faith made responsible for the miscarriages of Reason, it would be an injustice whose consequence would quite invert the order of the world, and leave neither Church, nor Prince, nor Magistrate, nor Policy, nor Oeconomy on Earth.

But if this be so, how come so many men esteemed learned to assert such extravagances, the Pope to allow them, private men to endure them? I answer, how can it be otherwise, while men are men, and the world the world? Popes are men, and have long time both been, and lived in the state and splendor of Princes. Can it be thought strange, if Flattery have found access to a Court, and amongst so many, if some have given ear to it? They are generally very good men, but of late better versed in Policies, than Divinity. For the most part they are well skilled in the Law, especially the Canon, an useful knowledge for Church Government, but for Divinity they use to rely on others. And if men who pass for able Scholars, and great Divines flatter them with an addition of power, and tell them it truly belongs to them, and that they can and will maintain it; Can you, who think Miracles are ceased, wonder they should be content it be thought true? They see many who oppose it, are their profest enemies, and if it be perpetually inculcated to them, that the rest have got a tang of that enmity by conversing with them, how can it be but they will be perswaded of it at last? We see the often repetition, even of known Lies, cheats the teller at last into a belief of them. And if once they come to be perswaded the thing is true, it were wonder they should not discountenance those who oppose it, and cherish those who maintain it. Then if one Pope declare any way, the rest will all go on the same road; unless some very extraordinary action stop their journey. They understand the Art of Governing very well, and see that if one Pope should undo what his Predecessor

Predecessor has done, things would soon fall into disorder. So that they are slow, but very tenacious in their resolves, and 'tis the hardest thing in the world to get them to alter their course. And all this is so far from strange, that it were strange it should be otherwise. Then for learned men; consider how much Ecclesiastical Promotions depend upon the Pope, and what plenty of means he has to gratifie all who appear for his interest. While one hopes for a Canonry, another a Bishopric, another has the dazling Purple glittering in his eyes; They will all be apt to say what they think will please him in whose power it is to satisfy them all. And as the Schools go now it is not hard to say almost any thing. As men are of several tempers, I will not deny but some may be truly perswaded of your Doctrines and defend them with an upright conscience, thinking that to exalt the Pope is truly advantageous to Religion, and beneficial to the World: But I believe you will not find many so qualified. Those you have named, are some the Popes own Subjects, most Italians or Spaniards, upon whom He is known to have particular influence, and if we judge that in this exalting the Pope, they might have an eye to the preferment of themselves, I think it will be no rash judgment. Of latter times those have appeared the chief sticklers in this quarrel, who are thought to have the greatest dependance upon *Rome*. So that of all produced, and produceable in behalf of those opinions, I deceive my self if the number be not shamefully inconsiderable, against whom there lies not a just suspicion of interest, and of whom it may not reasonably be judged that Hopes or Fears, or something besides pure Conscience swayed their judgments. And Interest, you know, is a just exception against a Witness in all Courts. As for private men, what would you have them do? Consider that all Catholics look upon the Pope as the chief Bishop in Gods Church, and supreme Pastor of the whole Flock. If they hear any thing said over-lashingly of him, can it be expected they should be forward to speak what they think, till a due occasion urges them? Or have less respect for him, than common civilisie uses to every body? For when any thing is said advantageous to a person with whom we converse, if we believe it not, we keep our thoughts to our selves, and think it rudeness to oppose it to their faces. Besides,

as I said at first, this meddling of private men with the concern of Princes, is the Flies playing with the Candle. *Withington* quite burnt his wings; *Walsh* has fairly sing'd them; and if people learn wariness by the harms of other men, I conceive they are not blameable. As frightful and threatening as the Idea is, which you have made of this danger, no Prince, that I know, thinks it great enough to deserve that they should interpose, and I think the man very foolishly wise who will pretend to understand their concerns better than themselves, or better know what is fit to be done. People of our private Sphere, see but one thing; Princes see that one thing in likelihood better than we, and a hundred more of which we never dream, and till they stir themselves, for private men to obtrude their politic Ignorance upon them is so far from laudable, that it is well if it be pardonable; neither will their forwardness signify more than an over-busie diligence, and peradventure saucy unquietness. The old Monks wise counsel, *Sinere res vadere ut vadunt*, is as necessary in the world as a Cloyster. Besides, for English Catholics in particular, they have somewhat more reason to keep silence, while their speaking is sure to be discountenanced on the one side, and not sure to be protected on the other. You may perceive by *Caron's* Collection that Catholics are no such mealy-mouthed men towards the Pope when there is fit occasion to speak what they think, and God forbid that Forreiners should be better Subjects than English men. I am sure they were Catholics who declared in Parliament, that the Imperial Crown of *England* is, and at all times has been free from all subjection to the Pope. and provided the Statute of *Pramunire* against such abuses as were then found inconvenient: And they were Catholics who refused to repeal this Statute in the days of *Queen Mary*, when other Laws made against the Popes Authority were taken away. But if you will have a touchstone of the fidelity of English Catholics. look a little upon the year 88. The Pope had stretched his Authority as far as it would go, and proceeded to Excommunication, Deposition, and Absolution of her Subjects from Obedience to her, down-right Commands to assist her Enemies; and this Authority was backt by the Power of a great Prince, in their thoughts and language invincible. Besides, the Title of the
Queen

Queen born in the time of a Marriage declared lawful by the Pope was not free from dispute, which carried the inclination of Catholics to the Title of *Scotland*, since happily introduced, and which I hope will long happily continue; and this was, if I mistake not, the true reason of the jealousy and severity of those times against them. Notwithstanding the unusual concurrence of so many and so great temptations, They stood firm in their Allegiance; and both our own and foreign Writers testify, that neither the subtil Arts of the Politic Spaniard, nor the enforcement of the Popes Authority could prevail to make any Party here; but that the most learned and esteemed of the Priests by a solemn and authentic Writing acknowledged the Queen, notwithstanding she was excommunicated and deposed by name, to have still the same Authority and Power as before, and as much as any of her Predecessors; and the Layty cheerfully and univelsally offered to hazard their lives in defence of their Prince and Country, and that as private Soldiers, there being too much suspicion in the jealousy of those times to pretend to commands. In fine the Spaniards were so ill satisfied with them, that the Duke of *Medina*, Admiral in that Expedition, at his return plainly told the Duchess of *Ferla*, an English woman of the Family of the *Durres*, that had he prevailed, no difference had been made betwixt Catholics and others more than what the Sword could have found. Of later times the whole Nation is obliged to bless God for the happy fidelity of some of them, and we had still been groaning under our late miseries, if this traiterous Religion had not principled, even poor men into a fidelity stronger than the temptation of Gold. And 'tis not likely the men, who act thus, would refuse to speak in a fit occasion. Things have been written, even since the return of his Sacred Majesty which have been peradventure more zealous than seasonable, but however which sufficiently discover the inclination of Catholics to say all that can be expected with reason from them, when the conjuncture is proper. In the mean time to consider the Dilemma you so earnestly recommend to me, I must tell you it concludes not. We are inexculpable, say you, if we renounce not those Positions, when without injury to the Churches Authority, or our own consciences we may. Why so *F A*! is there no excuse for an action

but this, that 'tis unlawful? People before they do any thing use to consider the *Why* as well as the *What*, and examine not only whether the action be allowable, but whether it be convenient. But not to insist on this, I will offer you a fair bargain. Do you your part, and I will do mine, make it reasonable, make it fitting to do what you desire, and I will do it. And that you may be satisfied I am in earnest, I promise you faithfully to renounce these Positions as fully and solemnly as you can desire, when ever you shall make it come to pass that so to do is my duty, and not only a bare gratification of your curiosity; and, in the mean time, assure you I heartily abhor them, and always did. The Child lyes now at your door *FA!* If you truly desire the thing should be done, provide a good *Why* we should do it. For my own part I tell you truly, I shall take it very unkindly if after this I pass still undistinguished among those who you think deserve suspicion and distrust; and since you have urged me to this Declaration, conceive you are obliged to take care that it be not wholly useless. Pray let me put another Dilemma to you. Either your credit is great enough to preserve us from the inconvenience of speaking plainly, or it is not: If not, we are blameless, who are not forward to run into inconveniences to no purpose; if it be, 'tis you are blameable, who urge us to an inconvenience which you can, but will not remedy. Mean while to be ill lookt upon and ill treated, if we make our selves appear honest Catholics, and not so much as have protection for being Catholics, is but to be acquitted of Burg'ary, and found guilty of Felony. Methinks it is something unreasonable to make the maintenance of pernicious Doctrines the ground why we should be liable to punishment, and keep us every jot as liable if we disclaim them. Nor but that we are very sensible of our present quiet, and bless and pray for the merciful Authors of it: But yet the Law is the Law still: And it is very uneasy to have no better security either of Estate or Life than a bare stop to the course of the Law, which may be removed at pleasure. For my own part, as I am but *John Porter*, so I hope 'tis a modest and pardonable ambition, if I wish to continue so with security. And since an extravagance in others, which I cannot help, may make you jealous even of my Froek and Cords, I shall gladly endeavour to cure that jealousy by any remedies which Reason can prescribe, or Honesty take. But
 all

till you can procure thus much favour, to urge a testimony of honesty so ungrateful to him, to whom we owe, and must pay a fitting respect, and when we have given it, to continue us still in the condition of Knaves, is hard in it self, and harder from you who have profest so often that you punish not for Religion, but Treason. Religion indeed is the most comfortable cause of suffering, and that which if I must suffer, I would chuse; But yet suffering is suffering still, let the cause be what it will; And though I esteem Patience very much, and desire the Vertue with all my heart, I know not why I should desire the occasions to exercise it, and believe it is better not to need live Pigeons than to have them.

Coming to review what I have writ, I find the hasty course of my Pen, intent upon the main body of the discourse has past over several branches, which deserve to be particularly taken notice of. As when you say that, so the mischievous Doctrines be allowed, it is all one whether they be allowed by the material Church, or the formal. To which I reply, the difference is very great. For were the Church truly engaged for them, there were no remedy, but either to own the Doctrines, or disown the Church. But if she be not engaged for them, as she is not, one may detest the Doctrines, as I do, and yet remain in the Church. Again, when you make Church and State equivalent, I conceive the difference appears sufficiently in what has been said. State signifies a body of men united under such a Government and such Laws; and what the Governours do, the State is said to do, for to the Governour it belongs to command in public concerns, to the rest to obey. Church signifies a body of men living according to Doctrines and Laws established by Christ; and because, as men, they cannot but have and act upon other Principles too, those actions only and Principles which are derived from Christ, can properly belong to the Church, in the rest they are to be looked upon as men, not as faithful. Besides, you have produced some few who have the boldness to entitle those Errors, as gross as they are, to Faith, and make the contrary Heresie: To which I answer, There are a great many strange things in the world, and peradventure few stranger than that men should get the reputation of learning, and yet not know so much as what Faith is, or at least the means by which it has come to us. The *Regia Via*, as Councils

call it, of Faith, is both plain in itself, and plainly recorded in the Monuments of the Church, and that people should think to come to it by their own little by-ways, and make Faith of that which is publicly and unrepitably contradicted by the far greatest part of the present Church, and has no footsteps at all in Antiquity, and yet pass for learned men, is a thing I have more disposition to admire than unriddle, farther than in the short hint I gave of the abuse of that term by a wrong application, I ought else have scap'd my observation, by what I have said, I presume you will easily guess what I would say to it. Give me leave to end with reflecting a little upon the difference there is betwixt these opinions maintained by the Adversaries of the Church of Rome, and maintained by her Members. For to flatter neither side, *Illicos intra muros pegatur & extra*. You communicate with deposing-principled men, as well as we; though thanks be to God neither true Protestant, nor understanding Catholic communicate with the Principles. Now for our Church I have shewn why this extravagance of some of her members is not imputable to her, and hope you perceive how unreasonable it is that she should answer for the deviations of those who will not walk in her way, nor make use of her Rule. Some Popes indeed have behaved themselves otherwise than I wish they had: But since they are Princes as well as Bishops, I conceive it will not be thought strange if all great men are not Saints, and if Humane Policy, and a desire to encrease their greatness sway with them as with other Princes. If they attempt upon the rights of others, Kings I hope know well enough that they bear not the Sword in vain, and can as well tell how to defend themselves, and their Subjects from wrongs incident from them, as from other men; and sure I am that Catholics are so far from being restrained by their Religion, that it obliges them to stand by their respective Sovereigns, in defence of his just Rights against the Pope as effectually as against any other. I could alledge that of those Popes who have gone farthest, none has defined any thing concerning these matters in those circumstances, which even those Divines, who attribute most to them, require as necessary to make it believed, or *ex Cathedra*, as they call it. But I conceive it needless, it seeming to me sufficiently evident by what has been alledged already that our Faith and Church are not so suffer by these

exorbitancies; and Commonwealths can secure themselves by
 their own power. But, Friend! the case is otherwise with you.
 Your men alledge Scripture for their errors, and engage your
 Rule of Faith, and how the honest Protestant (who in this
 case undoubtedly has the true sense of Scripture on his side)
 can handsomely disengage his Church from a scandal to which he
 pretended the authority of her Rule, is difficult to apprehend.
 If people come not to their journeys end who refuse to take the
 right road, it is no wonder to any, nor blame to the Guide,
 whose office it is to shew men the right way, but cannot make
 them follow it. But your men pretend they keep the way your
 Church shews them to Truth, and yet arrive at Error. And
 when Error and Truth pretend both to the same Rule, and that
 the Rule of your Church, I should think your Church deeply
 concerned to consider by what means it may be decided, which
 is Heretic, and which Faith. In short our erring men, since
 they pretend not our Churches Rule, can never fix their errors
 upon the Church, nor advance them to Faith, nor beyond the
 degree of opinions: Yours, since they pretend to the very Rule
 owned by you, must needs, till a certain way of proceeding
 upon that Rule, or interpreting Scripture be settled, render it
 doubtful to those, who truly desire to be guided by your Rule,
 which of the two is the Doctrine of Christ, and are therefore
 wonderfully more dangerous to the Church than ours. Farther,
 abstracting from Passion or Interest which may be equal in both,
 ours, because they have no firmer ground than their own de-
 ductions, are more reclaimable, and may at any time relinquish
 their errors, without offering violence to their Faith and Reli-
 gion: Yours, because they pretend to your Rule of Faith, are
 apt to mistake their misguided Fancies for Religion (as we have
 seen in the late confusions the title of Saints appropriated to
 wicked men) and so become fixt and unalterable in them: For
 which reason they are also much more dangerous to the State, as
 they were before to the Church. In this inequality of cases, I
 do not know the Church of *England* has proceeded so far as to
 in the Council of *Constance*, or condemned such errors by any
 Authentic Censure, though in my opinion it were necessary for
 her to consider how much her Rule, upon which she has her
 own stability, is concerned in them. Mean time, whether

reproaching our several Churches with the errors of their several Members; It were I think more to purpose; I am sure more charitable, to endeavour that all Errors might be taken away on both sides, that by one Faith and one Baptism we may all serve our one Lord and God, and reunite into one Holy, and Immaculate, and Glorious Church, free from those spots and wrinkles which our unhappy Divisions have too much, and too long brought upon her. This is what the desire to obey your commands has suggested to me in answer to your Letter: You will pardon the length of it, which, as it is beyond my expectation, So 'tis beyond my power to remedy, and give me leave to hope it may prevail with you not to abate either your Chariky to my Religion, or kindness to

Your very humble Servant.

